

Message Text

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 4, 1975

(SALT TWO - 543)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 4, 1975.

QUOTE

MR. MINISTER:

I

AS WE BEGIN THE SECOND MONTH OF OUR CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS,
IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT WE SHOULD MEASURE HOW FAR WE HAVE COME
AND HOW FAR WE HAVE YET TO GO IN OUR JOINT TASK OF PREPARING
A NEW AGREEMENT.

THE U.S. DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE BASIS FOR THE NEW
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AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IS CON-

TAINED IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE INITIALLED BY THE TWO SIDES ON DECEMBER 10, 1974. OUR TASK IS TO TRANSFORM THE UNDERSTANDINGS RECORDED IN THAT AIDE-MEMOIRE INTO THE APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE OF A FORMAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD BE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE U.S. DELEGATION HAS PROCEEDED FROM THE PREMISE THAT AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP IN OUR WORK IS AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BEFORE US IN ORDER TO CLARIFY THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SERVES TO FACILITATE THE SUBSEQUENT DRAFTING OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. IT IS THROUGH SUCH AN EXCHANGE THAT OUR TWO DELEGATIONS CAN MORE PRECISELY DETERMINE WHERE WE ARE IN AGREEMENT AND WHERE WE MUST YET WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT.

AS A RESULT OF OUR EXCHANGES DURING THE PAST FOUR WEEKS, THE U.S. DELEGATION BELIEVES BOTH SIDES NOW HAVE A CLEARER PERCEPTION OF THE ROUTE TOWARD OUR AGREED OBJECTIVE. WE CAN BETTER SEE WHERE WE NEED TO CONCENTRATE OUR JOINT EFFORTS IN ORDER TO MOVE FORWARD.

II

AS I HAVE SAID PREVIOUSLY, ONE OF OUR JOINT TASKS IS TO ARRIVE AT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DEFINITIONS OF THE SPECIFIC STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH ARE TO BE LIMITED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT. SINCE THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL BE MORE COMPREHENSIVE THAN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, WE BELIEVE THAT ADDITIONAL AND MORE DETAILED PROVISIONS WILL BE REQUIRED, INCLUDING DEFINITIONS. FURTHER, WE BELIEVE THAT TO AVOID POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE FUTURE THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CLEAR, PRECISE, AND UNAMBIGUOUS.

AMONG THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE LIMITED WILL BE ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE DEVELOPED CONSIDERABLE EXPERIENCE IN USING THESE TERMS. I AM PLEASED TO NOTE YOUR AGREEMENT THAT, BASED ON THIS EXPERIENCE, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK OUT DEFINITIONS WHICH ARE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FOR INCLUSION OF SUCH ARMS IN THE NEW AGREEMENT.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, HEAVY BOMBERS WILL ALSO BE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN THIS CASE AS WELL, BOTH SIDES
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HAVE PAST EXPERIENCE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FROMWHICH TO PROCEED. THERE APPEARS TO BE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES THAT THE HEAVY BOMBERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMIT SHOULD BE SPECIFIED BY TYPES OF AIRCRAFT, BASED ON THEIR TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CAPABILITIES. FOLLOWING THIS APPROACH, WE EVIDENTLY ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT HEAVY BOMBERS INCLUDE THE U.S. B-52 AND B-1 AIRCRAFT, AND THE SOVIET TUPOLEV AIRCRAFT WHICH WE CALL THE BEAR AND THE SOVIET MYASISHCHEV AIRCRAFT WHICH WE

CALL THE BISON. THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CAPABILITIES OF THE NEW SOVIET TUPOLEV BOMBER WHICH WE CALL THE BACKFIRE ARE COMPARABLE TO THOSE OF AIRCRAFT WE BOTH AGREE ARE HEAVY BOMBERS. THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE THE BACKFIRE MUST BE INCLUDED AS A HEAVY BOMBER IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMIT.

THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL ALSO INCLUDE IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMIT CERTAIN TYPES OF AIR-TO-SURFACE MISILES ON BOMBERS. BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, IT IS THE U.S. UNDERSTANDING THAT WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH A RANGE EXCEEDING 600 KILOMETERS, EACH OF SUCH BALLISTIC MISSILES WILL BE COUNTED AS ONE DELIVERY VEHICLE IN THIS AGGREGATE LIMIT.

THERE IS ALSO AGREEMENT THAT ARTICLES I AND II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WILL BE INCORPORATED INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT. AS YOU KNOW, IN THE CONTEXT OF ARTICLE II, WE BELIEVE THAT A HEAVY ICBM SHOULD BE PRECISELY DEFINED. FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WE BELIEVE A HEAVY ICBM MUST BE CONSIDERED AS ANY ICBM WHICH HAS A VOLUME OR THROW-WEIGHT GREATER THAN THAT OF THE LARGEST NON-HEAVY ICBM DEPLOYED BY EITHER SIDE PRIOR TO THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

FURTHER, WE HAVE NOTED THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES THAT A PROVISION WITH RESPECT TO LIMITATIONS ON INCREASES IN THE DIMENSIONS OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WILL ALSO BE INCORPORATED INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT.

WITH RESPECT TO ICBM AND SLBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS, THE QUESTION ARISES AS TO WHETHER SUCH LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE ENTIRELY UNCONSTRAINED, THEREBY PERMITTING A POSSIBLE MEANS FOR CIRCUMVENTING THE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR AGREEMENT ON ICBM AND SLBM TEST AND
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TRAINING LAUNCHERS SIMILAR TO THE AGREED INTERPRETATION INITIALLED ON MAY 26, 1972 IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

III

MR. MINISTER, DURING THE CURRENT SESSION OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS I HAVE GIVEN SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO THE SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE NEW AGREEMENT. THIS IS A SUBJECT TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE. IN PARTICULAR, WE HAVE NOTED THAT A NEW QUALITATIVE LIMITATION TO BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT -- NAMELY, THE EQUAL LIMIT OF 1320 LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS -- REQUIRES OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL BE SUCH

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